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ABSTRACT

A study examined the responses of Canadian and American subjects in their approval of, and attraction to, specific television and film characters exhibiting aggressive behavior, and in their evaluation of the realism and saliency of the characters and situations observed. Subjects, undergraduate students at the University of Windsor in Windsor, Ontario, and individuals recruited from several educational institutions within the Kansas City, Missouri, greater metropolitan area, viewed five videotaped scenes (three from American television series and two from films) lasting about two minutes each. Subjects then filled out a semantic differential scale composed of word-pairs used to describe the protagonist in each scene. Overall scale results and the majority of thought listings showed all subject groups to be similar in their evaluation of and probable level of identification with the first three violent media models. However, results from the first three scenes were unreliable because of the lack of model saliency and susceptibility to script constructs. Results from the fourth scene's protagonists were too unsympathetic to be identified with. Results from the fifth scene (from the Canadian film "The Grey Fox" indicated that Canadian males approved of the Mounted Police more strongly on a majority of word variables than American males, American females, and Canadian females. Results also indicated that the protagonists were judged more realistic by all the subjects. (Five charts of data, five tables of data, and 66 notes are included.) (RS)

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# IDENTIFICATION WITH AND SALIENCY OF VIOLENT MEDIA MODELS: A COMPARISON BETWEEN CANADIAN AND AMERICAN SUBJECTS

by Gregory Gutenko
University of Kansas

While aggressive behavior on the part of the individual is mediated by the standards and processes of social orders, it will be encouraged if it is perceived as a profitable component of social dynamics. If behavioral influences are present in the mass media which foster needlessly exaggerated estimations of rewarding aggression levels, these influences should be attenuated for the respite of society at large. This concern with the propagation of social aggression impels the study of the effects of television and film violence. As Leonard Berkowitz states the issue, "...our society has to decide whether the benefits of portrayed aggression outweigh the cost."[1]

Key elements of Bandura's Social Learning Theory account for differential levels of aggressive behavior following exposure to media violence in experimental situations: The viewer's identification with the personal characteristics of a behavioral model, the comparability of the viewer's motivations with those of the model, and the saliency of the model. These factors have also been described within the context of broader theories of media influence on aggression that define semantic relationships and associative networks of memory, and their relationship not only to the acquisition of learning but also to the performance of overt behavior.

Conducted in the Fall of 1987, this study measured the responses of Canadian and American subjects in their approval of and attraction to specific television and film characters exhibiting aggressive behavior, and in their evaluation of the realism and saliency of the characters and situations observed. Canadian and American access to violent television and film is essentially identical, and viewing preferences for this media material are similar, as shown by both existing surveys[2] and self-reports made by this study's subjects. Since Canadian populations exhibit less social aggression than do comparable American populations, as indicated by national crime reports, it is of interest as to whether or not lower levels of identification with violent media models mitigate the acquisition and performance of violent behavior.

## Social Learning Theory

The acquisition and performance of aggressive behavior is a process addressed by Bandura's Social Learning Theory. Of relevance to this cross-national comparison of Canadian and American subjects are the functions of identification between observer and model, and between the observer's situations and those of the model. Bandura has described a complex process of cognitive recognition, evaluation, and acquisition by which behavior can be retained and later performed without immediate reinforcement being obtained for the observer/adopter.[3] Behavioral outcomes experienced by the model, actual or anticipated, are assumed by the observer to be consistent and commensurate for all performers.

Passive observation of a model does not of itself lead to learning. Attentional processes by which aspects of modeled behaviors are recognized and evaluated work towards a selection of those that appear usefully relevant from amongst numerous behaviors displayed by numerous models. In addition to functionality, Bandura relates the observer's associational preferences as well as the interpersonal attraction of the model as attentional determinants.[4]

Models who possess interesting and winsome qualities are actively sought, whereas those who lack rewarding characteristics tend to be ignored or actively rejected, even though they may excel in other ways. Control of attention through rewarding qualities is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in televised modeling. [5]

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In the development of media models, characteristics may be formulated that are less like those known to be possessed by viewers, but which are instead those anticipated to be desired by viewers. Identification can be with model characteristics to be emulated as well as with those already shared.[6] Retentional processes determine how much of an observed behavior will be committed to and maintained in memory. Bandura describes memorization as the transformation of modeled behaviors into visual and/or linguistic symbols that preserve the original guide for future reference.[7] This symbolic coding process is enacted for the retention of live as well as vicarious experiences, and through this reductive encoding tangibly different acquisition modes are transformed into the same image/language storage form. This state of equivalency is suggested by Bandura's comments on symbolic models:

> Another neglected influential source of social learning is the abundant and diverse symbolic modeling provided in television and other audio-visual displays. Since response patterns can be acquired on a purely observational basis, it is not surprising to find in comparative studies that models provided by filmed displays can be as influential as their real-life counterparts in shaping children's behavior. [8]

Associational preferences and interpersonal attraction are aspects of an identification with model characteristics. Identification with model motivations also facilitates the adoption of displayed behaviors, especially when associated outcomes of such motivated behaviors provide support for vicarious reinforcement. Similarity of probable consequences is considered more significant than similarity of personal attributes in promoting imitation.[9] As Bandura states,

> "Knowledge gained from witnessing the outcomes experienced by models would be particularly influential in instances where the observer believes that the model's contingencies apply to himself as well."[10]

## Review of Relevant Research

Research in psychology has not as yet developed a substantial body of evidence relating to identification with model characteristics and motivations, although identification continues to be hypothesized as a contributing factor in observational learning.[11] Differences in observational learning among nations is also suggested rather than established. The available research is valuable, however, in that it provides quantifiable and empirical analyses of how television and film models can have variable influences on aggressive behavior. Identification with model characteristics has emerged as a significant variable in a series of intervention treatments designed by Huesmann, Eron, Klein, Brice, and Fischer to reduce the imitation of aggressive behaviors by first- and third-grade children who had extensive exposure to television violence.

> ..three important contributors to the likelihood that a child would behave more aggressively as a result of violence viewing could be the child's perception of the violence as realistic, the child's identification with the TV character, and the child's beliefs about society's acceptance of aggression.[12]

The intervention treatments were mitigated by the extent to which individual students maintained an identification with television characters. Research by Huesmann, Lagerspetz, and Eron from 1982 reported "that identification with TV characters seems to catalyze the violence-viewing-aggression relation in boys...".[13] Additionally, the authors state, "Those subjects who had higher self-rated identification with TV characters had higher peer-nominated aggression scores."[14] Several studies conducted in the `50s and `60s described differing levels of identification by viewers with media models and their actions and emotions.[15] More recent research yielded comparable indications of adolescent affinity with specific media models.[16] A field study of high school students by McLeod, Atkin, and Chaffee in 1972 found correlations between self-reported aggression and identification with violent television characters.[17]

Considerably more research has been conducted on the correlation of aggressive behavior and identification with model motivations then with model characteristics. Several studies during the late `60s and early `70s found that when associations were made by subjects between antagonists present in the environment and victims of aggression presented on film, or between themselves and

an aggressor in a film, the subjects exhibited increased aggression.[18] Geen has proposed that the idea of reiteration of motives by film models can be applied to a wide range of potential motivational states:

> This hypothesis...proposes that the person who observes violence makes a comparison between his motivational state and that of the actors in the observed event and uses cues from the latter as information concerning appropriate behavior for himself.[19]

If a behavioral example has been observed which appears to be situationally and motivationally similar, the individual will consider the modeled behavior a valid and appropriate response in the immediate confrontation.[20]

The emission of behavior is a significant aspect of media violence effects that is not fully accounted for as imitation of intact modeled behaviors. Even in Bandura's early experiments with children's aggression towards doll targets, nonimitative acts of aggression were observed. Recent hypotheses on human cognitive information processing have received wide support in descriptive applications to media violence, both in research reviews (Geen,[21] Huesmann[22]) and in study analyses (Williams, Zabrack, and Joy[23]). As Berkowitz summarizes the prime conceptual scheme:

> What is important is that memory is regarded as a collection of networks, with each network consisting of units or nodes (representing substantive elements of thought, feelings, and so on) that are interconnected through associative pathways. The strength of these pathways is presumably a function of a variety of factors, including contiguity, similarity, and semantic relatedness.[24]

As this concept is applied, a violent incident portrayed in film or television, constructed of numerous image and sound cues as well as semantic cues, will trigger associations with existing violent memories by a priming effect. A particular observed cue activating a particular node would also trigger the activation of other sense and semantically related nodes in a spreading activation,[25] in what might be described as a chain reaction of remindings.

Berkowitz cites numerous experimental studies that illustrate word, color, emotion, and image cues for aggressive associations.[26] Such cues act as symbolic codes for representation in memory, both in the initial retention process of encoding, as described by Bandura,[27] and in the retrieval of memory and/or behavior through encoding specificity, where immediately perceived cues are compared to cues from memorized prior learning or experiences.[28] As Geen observes, "imitative learning cannot explain the common finding that observation of aggressive acts in the media is often followed by the performance of different aggressive acts by the observer."[29]

One source from which the cognitive neoassociation concepts are derived is that of script constructs, which have been related by Abelson to the schematic nature of mental representations of events in memory.[30] Scripts are defined as conceptual representations of stereotyped event sequences; as expectations regarding the structure and outcome of events and behaviors.[31] Gerbner's survey correlations between amount of television viewed and expressed fear of crime is used as an indicator of "mainstreaming"; the cultivation of generalized concepts of social realities by television.[32] Mainstreaming effects can be described as metascript modifications, as proposed by Williams, Zabrack, and Joy.[33]

In the above described theories of media violence and aggression, although particular concepts have incorporated exclusive parameters, there are these key elements in common: identification has been shown to be a determining factor in the acquisition and retention of observed behavior, identification varies in response to the saliency of an observed model's motivations and characteristics, and identification occurs on the basis of observable cues that can be associated with cues previously retained in memory.

## Comparison of Canadian and American Crime Statistics

That there is less violent crime in Canada than in the United States is a conclusion that can be inferred from a cursory examination of national averages reported for any given year by the Uniform Crime Reports of the United States and the Crime and Traffic

Enforcement Statistics of Canada However, both sources caution against relying indiscriminately on crime statistics as indicators of social disorder, because of demographic and reporting variables such as population, race, economy, climate, and crime classifications.[34] With such cautions in mind, crime statistics remain useful as general indicators of social environments. Hennigan has noted that reporting inconsistencies are less critical when crime data is used "in estimates of relative differences between aggregates of cities and states rather than as estimates of absolute levels."[35]

### Canadian Consumption of American Media

Due to cable services and the proximity of American broadcast signals, most Canadian cities have had access to American television programming for decades. Additionally, both the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the Canadian Television (CTV) network carry American television programs, including the action/adventure genres high in violent content. American domination of the Canadian television environment has been described in studies by Williams, Zabrack, and Joy.[36] Despite regulatory controls imposed by the Canadian government to maintain prescribed "Canadian content" in media, America still provides over 80% of the motion pictures and 70% of the television programs viewed by Canadians nationwide.[37] American programming is also consistently more popular.[38]

## METHOD

In developing the methodology for this study, several premises were allowed. First, the media models selected for observation had to be derived from existing programs to assure the representativeness of the models and the production quality expected by viewers. Also, it was expected that existing identifications with some of the media models used might result in stronger responses.

Second, since most violent media models are of American origin, the American subjects were considered a control group. Third, to control as much as possible for the influence of cultural values, lifestyles, and other factors that could bear on their responses to the media models, Canadian subjects were drawn from a border community in close proximity to a major American city. The expected result of this would be a subject pool in which cognitions of national/personal identity would have the least environmental reinforcement.

Finally, subject responses to the media models were directed towards evaluations of appearance, actions, and merit, with the level of identification being inferred from these variables. Asking subjects to address "identification" would have been detrimental in terms of coaching subjects, and in requiring consideration of a more abstract concept.

### Subject Pool Selection and Characteristics

Differences in identification are hypothesized to be due to differences between what constitutes a Canadian and what constitutes an American. Little empirical data have been generated which describe the traits or qualities which makes one distinct from the other. Morse has described a number of affinities that characterized a Canadian national identity among university students, but no comparisons with non-Canadian samples were made which might describe unique traits or patterns.[39] However, it is not the purpose of this study to define a Canadian national identity, but only to show that one is manifested through variable responses to American media models. In this regard, this study bears some similarity to one conducted by La Fave, McCarthy, and Haddad where Canadian and American subjects revealed a identification class consciousness by following predicted preferences for pro-Canadian or pro-American jokes.[40]

### Subject Community Comparisons

Canadian subjects for this study were undergraduate students at the University of Windsor in Windsor, Ontario, which is located across the Canadian/American border from Detroit, Michigan. American subjects were recruited from several educational institutions within the Kansas City, Missouri greater metropolitan area.

Windsor is in many respects a satellite of Detroit, and most of its residents participate in the social and cultural life of this American city. Many differences exist between Windsor

and Detroit in population, metropolitan size, and crime rates, yet much is found in common between these two cities. Mass media, in particular television and radio, is a shared environment, and this environment is Detroit-dominated.[41] As Gregory Hanson of the Data Bank Research Group observes,

> There is no greater factor illustrating the strength of the cultural link between Windsor and Detroit than the extent to which the residents of Windsor and Essex County absorb the various forms of American media.[42]

In 1985, the Data Bank reported that approximately half of the television newscasts watched and one third of the radio newscasts listened to by Windsor respondents were of Detroit origin.[43] Other cultural industries also have their influence; about 86% of Windsor's residents visit Detroit to attend sports and musical events, for dining and shopping, and to visit friends or relatives.[44] This proximity to American culture may cause some Windsor residents to feel more a part of the urban psychology of Detroit, rather than of an autonomous Canadian city. The "mainstreaming" effects of television, as described by Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli,[45] may cultivate a commonality of attitudes if media-propagated outlooks appear to be just as relevant in Windsor as they are in Detroit.

Kansas City is considered to be quite typically American, possessing demographic and cultural characteristics which make it, and the surrounding Midwest region, a reliable and popular marketing research and testing site. Windsor and Kansas City are not directly comparable, nor do they need to be in order to satisfy the conditions of this study. It is of value, however, to note characteristics which are similar, including those evident among the Canadian and American subjects.

Socioeconomic profiles of Windsor and of the Kansas City region show similarities in median income and education levels, industrial bases, and age and occupational distributions. Windsor has a highly developed industrial base, providing slightly higher-than-average family incomes.[46] Kansas City is more diversified,[47] but also has a strong industrial base, providing most of its population with much the same social and economic environment as is available in Windsor. (For example, both Windsor and Kansas City are assembly plant centers for the automotive industry.)

## Screening of Subjects

A screening protocol selected subjects who were white, native-born, between the ages of 17 and 25, and full-term residents of their country. The subject response forms requested information on age, sex, ethnic origin, residency, and occupations of both parents. The data were used for characterizing subjects on these dimensions.

One interesting outcome was in the responses made for ethnic origin. While the most common entry by American subjects for this category was race ("white", 82%), the most common entry by Canadians was nationality ("Canadian", 43%). Americans are apparently more sensitive to racial demarcations, while Canadians are more sensitive to (a besieged?) national identity. Also, 46% of Canadians accurately entered an ethnic or cultural origin (e.g. "Italian"), as compared to less than 4% of Americans, perhaps due to an attitude difference fostered by the American "melting pot" and Canadian "mosaic" national attitudes towards cultural assimilation. Age distributions, parental occupations, media viewing habits and preferences, and community sizes did not illustrate any notable differences between Canadian and American subjects, and these data were not considered further.

## Survey Design and Administration Procedure

The test procedure took approximately 40 minutes, and included the viewing of five videotaped scenes, averaging two minutes in length. After each scene, the subjects were given two minutes to list any thoughts that occurred to them as they watched the scene. Following this, subjects then were given two minutes to complete a semantic differential scale composed of 12 seven-point word-pairs to describe the protagonist in each scene. This scale obtained quantitative data on subjects' evaluations of the behavioral models, while the thought listing data allowed an interpretive basis for drawing conclusions regarding the cognitive processes involved in the subjects'

responses to all relevant aspects of the scenes and models.

The scenes used in the study were chosen from three television series, Spenser: For Hire, Miami Vice, and Houston Knights, and two films, The Long Riders and The Grey Fox. The first four scenes were set in America, while the last was set in Canada. The Grey Fox was used to see if an anticipated reversal in the direction of responses would occur between the Canadian and American subjects. The scarcity of Canadian television source material necessitated use of a film scene.

All five scenes were selected according to the following criteria: 1) protagonists were involved in a violent situation where the use of violence was at their discretion, 2) there was no prior dramatic justification, such as revenge, established for the protagonist, and 3) the situation was complete and comprehensible out of context. Each scene was preceded by an on-screen caption establishing the situation and identifying the characters. Ordering of the scenes was from least to most violent for the first four. The final scene, The Grey Fox, although it was not the most violent, was positioned to be adjacent to The Long Riders since both were Western scenes.[48]

The 12 word-pair variables were selected on the basis of their utility as demonstrated by previous studies of responses to social or national characteristics, and also with a focus on the measurement of saliency.[49] The 12 variables were randomly reversed and reordered on the response forms for each scene, and the arrangement as used for analysis is shown as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | peaceful . . . . . violent |
| 2 | good . . . . . bad |
| 3 | free . . . . . restrained |
| 4 | exciting . . . . . dull |
| 5 | like me . . . . . not me |
| 6 | normal . . . . . unusual |
| 7 | polite . . . . . antisocial |
| 8 | nearby . . . . . faraway |
| 9 | strong . . . . . weak |
| 10 | wise . . . . . foolish |
| 11 | neighbor . . . . . foreigner |
| 12 | heroic . . . . . cowardly |

With the exception of word-pairs 5 through 8 and 11, the adjective variables are drawn from a semantic atlas compiled by Snider and Osgood in 1969.[50] The improvised word pairs were developed after considering both the factors generated from a pilot study, and the foci of the thoughts that had been listed by pilot study subjects.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The five scenes are related in terms of theme and content but are experimentally independent, and will be analyzed on a scene-by-scene basis. In the principal analysis of differences due to nationality and sex, tables 1 through 5 show the scale means, standard deviations, t-scores, and the levels of significance of the scores.[51] Charts 1 through 5 plot the mean scores for the word-pair variables for Canadian males, Canadian females, American males, and American females.[52]

In addition to the principal analysis of the semantic differential scale, correlated t-tests showing differences between responses to the Pinkerton detectives of The Long Riders and the Mounted Police of The Grey Fox were made in order to see if there were scale variables on which these protagonists were judged differently by the Canadian and American subjects. Canadian subjects employed a greater number of scale variables, and larger t-scores indicated a greater range of semantic "distance" in their distinctions between the Pinkerton detectives and the Mounted Police. The occupational class of subjects' parents, length of residence in Windsor, and response to the ethnic self-description were considered as possible factors that might correlated with pro- and anti-American media responses by Canadian subjects. There have been no socioeconomic characteristics previously identified among Windsorites correlating to pro-American attitudes in the surveys and research compiled by the University of Windsor.[53] In light of this, it was not expected that this study would uncover any significant social dimensions which would account for an American media bias.

Canadian subjects were subdivided to create two-sample situations for the three sociometric factors of interest: the parents' blue-collar or white-collar occupational class, the subjects' longest residency (in Windsor or elsewhere in Canada), and the response to the

ethnic self-identification (as Canadian or as an ethnic type). This preliminary analysis showed parents' occupational background to be the most likely significant variable for consideration.

The results of an ANOVA of nationality with the parents' occupational background showed that occupational background was a less significant factor than was nationality. In The Long Riders, blue-collar males rated the Pinkerton detectives as more "violent" and in The Grey Fox, blue-collar males rated the Mounted Police as more "normal" and "strong" than did white-collar males. These were the only instances where interactions between the nationality and occupational background variables were significant. The occupational background of parents was of no significance for female subjects in this analysis. In view of the minor contribution of the parents' occupational background, residency, and ethnic self-description factors to differences among Canadian subjects in this study, the variables of sex and nationality remain the most significant.

Each discussion will consist of three parts: (1) an analysis of the semantic differential scale results described in the preceding chapter, (2) an examination of those thoughts reported by subjects which are related to the responses to the differential scale, and (3) an examination of additional thought listings which are relevant to this study's hypothesis and which elaborate further on the variables of the scale.

## The Application of Thought Listings

As used in this study, the thought listing procedure provided a means by which cognitions relevant to the approval of media models could be collected, grouped by frequency and polarity, and applied towards an analysis of the scale responses. The definition of thought listing categories was not performed until after all the listings had been examined; there were no predetermined categories.

Target, polarity, and origin are dimensions suggested by Cacioppo, Harkins, and Petty for the classification of thought listings.[54] In this study, classification of the thought listing responses was by their target, where the categories are defined by the foci of comments. Examples of targets are "production--realism" and "landlord--fairness". Responses within each target category were further sorted by a partial application of a polarity dimension, by which only those thoughts having a codable bias for or against a target were used for discussion.

The coding method used to categorize thoughts allowed for the formation of 94 possible target categories, with the further indication of polarity permitting a potential total number of thought categories of 184. Seventy-two percent of the categories created were not considered further in this study, either because the target was not relevant to the study's focus, or because of minimal response.

## Responses to Spenser of Spenser: For Hire

In the scene used for this study, Spenser involves himself in the defense of tenants being evicted, legally but abusively, from their rented apartment. The confrontation depicted in the Spenser: For Hire scene, with its focus on social problems and a legal versus moral rights issue, is more typical of what may be found in a Canadian fiction program, as compared to the individual-versus-individual confrontations more commonly found in American programming.[55] This makes the thematic conflict in Spenser: For Hire more relevant to Canadian subjects than those presented by the Miami Vice and Houston Knights scenes.

### Responses to the Semantic Differential Scale

In the semantic differential scale measure, the most significant difference between Canadians and Americans in their evaluations of Spenser was on the "wise-foolish" variable, with Canadians rating Spenser lower. Canadians also rated Spenser more negatively on the "good-bad" scale, as well as on the "exciting-dull", "normal-unusual", and "strong-weak" scales. Differences between males of the two nations, however, appeared on only two of these variables, "good-bad" and "wise-foolish".

Since identification with media models has been established by existing research as occurring more with male subjects than with female subjects, the low number of significant

CHART 1. . . . . Spenser: For Hire

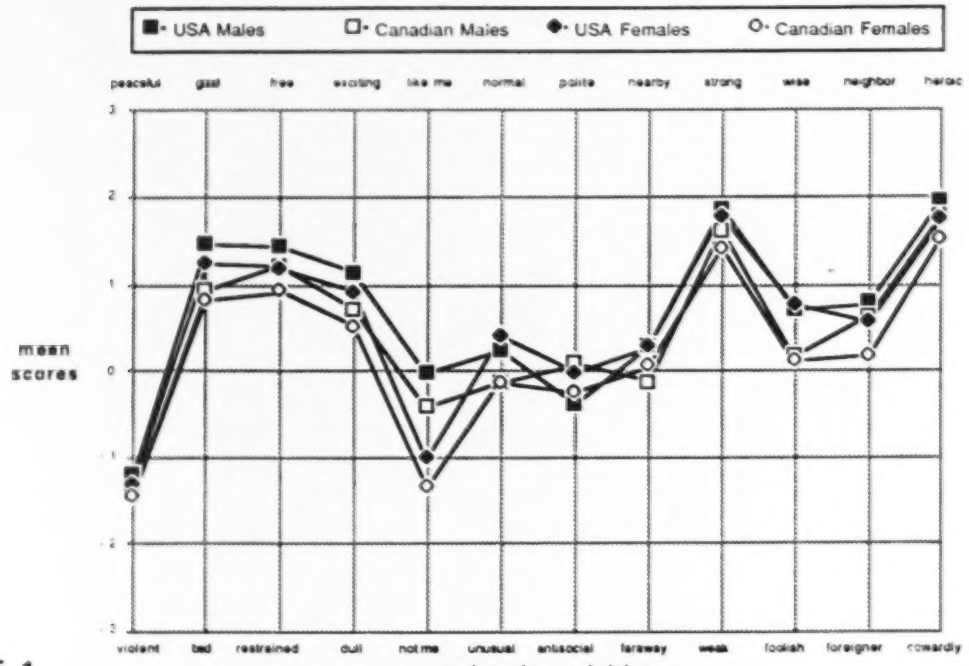



TABLE 1

word pair variables

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian Males | **-1.42** | **.926** | **1.21** | **.716** | **-.432** | **-.136** | **.086** | **-.136** | **1.617** | **.160** | **.617** | **1.778** | Mean |
| | 1.234 | 1.626 | 1.531 | 1.712 | 1.837 | 1.701 | 1.434 | 1.618 | 1.347 | 1.840 | 1.513 | 1.194 | s.d. |
| American Males | **-1.192** | **1.474** | **1.436** | **1.128** | **-.038** | **.231** | **-.038** | **.282** | **1.846** | **.705** | **.782** | **1.949** | Mean |
| | 1.239 | 1.439 | 1.401 | 1.598 | 1.663 | 1.879 | 1.362 | 1.611 | 1.218 | 1.504 | 1.374 | 1.080 | s.d. |
| Canadian Females | **-1.455** | **.83** | **.932** | **.511** | **-1.341** | **-.125** | **-.239** | **.068** | **1.409** | **.114** | **.182** | **1.534** | Mean |
| | 1.469 | 1.642 | 1.603 | 1.735 | 1.575 | 1.856 | 1.33 | 1.747 | 1.58 | 1.718 | 1.623 | 1.277 | s.d. |
| American Females | **-1.311** | **1.244** | **1.189** | **.911** | **-1.011** | **.389** | **-.011** | **.278** | **1.789** | **.767** | **.567** | **1.744** | Mean |
| | 1.215 | 1.589 | 1.468 | 1.598 | 1.554 | 1.654 | 1.156 | 1.438 | 1.176 | 1.415 | 1.622 | 1.241 | s.d. |

**T-SCORES**

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Differences between | 1.160 | 2.254 | .972 | 1.570 | 1.418 | 1.288 | -.563 | 1.631 | 1.125 | 2.047 | .719 | .948 | df=157 |
| Males | | **.05** | | | | | | | | **.05** | | | Sig. |
| Differences between | .709 | 1.713 | 1.115 | 1.598 | 1.406 | 1.949 | 1.217 | .873 | 1.816 | 2.765 | 1.582 | 1.114 | df=176 |
| Females | | | | | | | | | | **.01** | | | Sig. |
| Differences between | .166 | .383 | 1.151 | .771 | 3.461 | -.039 | 1.529 | -.785 | .918 | .171 | 1.8 | 1.278 | df=167 |
| Sexes-Canadian | | | | | **.001** | | | | | | **.10** | | Sig. |
| -American | .627 | .977 | 1.111 | .878 | 3.916 | -.58 | -.141 | .018 | .310 | -.273 | .921 | 1.129 | df=166 |
| | | | | | **.001** | | | | | | | | Sig. |
| Differences between | 1.292 | 2.769 | 1.454 | 2.224 | 1.849 | 2.313 | .410 | 1.772 | 2.101 | 3.411 | 1.639 | 1.434 | df=335 |
| Nationalities | | **.01** | | **.05** | | **.05** | | | **.05** | **.001** | | | Sig. |

scale variables for males suggests that differences in the evaluation of Spenser are not indicative of variable levels of identification with Spenser. This conclusion is further supported by the cross-sex t-tests which showed only the variable "like me-not me" accounting for differences between sexes for both Canadians and Americans. If the primarily male-associated identification process was influencing the evaluations of Spenser, it would be expected that a number of scale variables would also show a significant cross-sex difference.

### Thought Listings Relating to the Scale Variables

Nine categories targeting Spenser were created from 281 thought listings. Four categories, fairness, empathy, intelligence, and entertainment, are not considered in this discussion because of low response. Five character targets did elicit higher numbers of responses and are shown below: realism, use of violence, attractiveness, dress/appearance, and heroism.

| Subject Groups | attraction (+ -) | dress/appearance (+ -) | heroism (+ -) | use of violence (+ -) | realism (+ -) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian Males | 0 0 | 1 8 | 11 8 | 19 2 | 0 8 |
| American Males | 1 1 | 0 2 | 3 3 | 21 1 | 0 4 |
| Canadian Females | 7 3 | 1 10 | 15 12 | 13 4 | 1 16 |
| American Females | 10 0 | 1 7 | 14 5 | 26 3 | 2 4 |
| Totals | 22 | 30 | 71 | 89 | 35 |

Use of Violence. The largest number of thought listings focused on Spenser's use of violence, (32 % of the total number of thoughts listed,) with the majority of thoughts being positive for all subject groups. Canadians had fewer favorable thoughts regarding Spenser's aggression. Since the semantic scale variable "peaceful-violent" showed no differences between Canadians and Americans, it appears that the attitudes of most subjects towards Spenser's use of violence did not reflect any differences due to either sex or nationality. Approval was based principally on the judgement of the landlord's bodyguard as deserving of punishment because of his unwarranted physical abuse of a young man who was resisting eviction, and of Spenser as an appropriate administrator of this punishment.

Heroism Spenser's heroism is the next most active thought target. In this instance, while Canadians listed more positive thoughts than did the Americans regarding Spenser as a hero, they also listed more negative thoughts as well, resulting in a ratio between positive and negative Canadian thoughts that is almost even. The American subjects' ratio, on the other hand, has over twice as many positive thoughts targeting Spenser's heroism, although for American males alone, the ratio is balanced. It would appear that there is less of a consensus among Canadians regarding Spenser's heroism.

For both Americans and Canadians, the positive or negative perception of Spenser's heroism appears to be related to his credibility. Most negative comments show a negative evaluation of the believability of the character or program. The positive thoughts do not tend to address the realism of the character or program, and instead are supportive of the issue explored in the episode or the moral correctness of Spenser's behavior.

### Thought Listings Expanding on the Scale Variables

The semantic differential scale used by subjects in their evaluations of protagonists necessarily restricted their considerations to a set of specific character and behavioral traits, selected on the basis of previous utility in related studies. The thought listing method enabled the collection and consideration of subject-perceived and defined characteristics that were not experimentally predetermined.

Attractiveness and Dress/Appearance Of the three thought listing categories targeting Spenser on cognitive areas that were not addressed by the semantic scale variables, only the category of realism is directly relevant to identification. The category of attractiveness is

a compilation of thoughts assessing Spenser's physical appeal, and female subjects provided 20 responses while males provided only 2. The category of dress/appearance had 3 positive and 27 negative responses, all being directed against Spenser's black peacoat and stocking cap. Spenser's eccentric dress stimulated much derision and no doubt was an alienating factor. Canadians listed twice as many negative thoughts as did Americans.

Realism Spenser's realism was the third most active target category. Thirty-two negative thoughts were listed in this category, and were critical of the naturalness of Spenser's behavior in interfering with the evictions and the display of Spenser's fighting prowess. Only one positive Canadian and two positive American thoughts were listed, all by female subjects. Canadian subjects listed three times as many negative thoughts regarding the realism of Spenser than did American subjects. Similar to the character target of realism is the production value target of realism. In the latter, the Canadian subjects listed twice as many negative thoughts than did the American subjects. This shows a corroborative response by Canadian subjects in finding Spenser: For Hire less realistic.

Responses to Crockett of Miami Vice

Of the five program sources used for this study, Miami Vice was the most familiar to all subjects, with 70% of Canadians and 62% of Americans reporting that they have watched the program. Miami Vice has been broadcast since 1984, and was often highly ranked by television rating services. For this reason, it was expected that the ratings of the character, Sonny Crockett, would reflect previously established attitudes towards this protagonist, rather than evaluations of any newly observed and considered behaviors. Since it is likely that identifications with media models may be developed over time, Miami Vice and its protagonist were included in this study to allow for any such established identification.

Responses to the Semantic Differential Scale

There were no significant differences between American and Canadian ratings of Crockett, except for the "strong-weak" variable, where Canadian males rated Crockett lower. This response also accounts for the cross-national results, since the Canadian females' ratings on this variable were not significantly different from the American ratings.

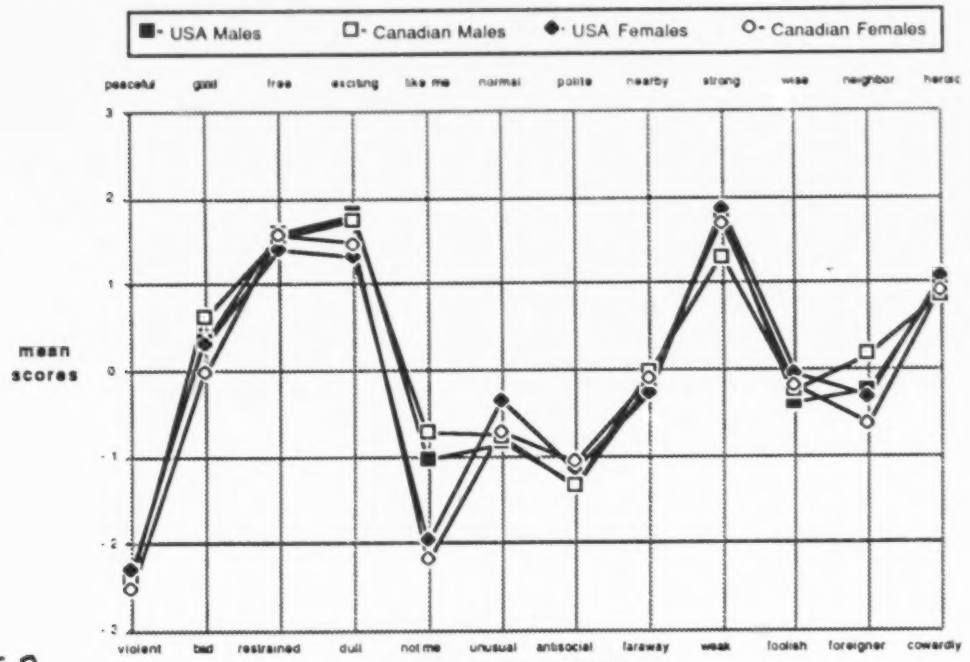
On the "neighbor-foreigner" word variable, Canadian males differed with Canadian females at an .01 level of significance. This variable was one of two (the other being "nearby-faraway") which were created for measuring the perception of protagonists as being alien or nonsalient. The "good-bad" variable was the second scale on which Canadian females had rated Crockett lower than had Canadian males. American females rated Crockett lower than did the American males on the "exciting-dull" variable. Such cross-sex responses would not be unexpected where the factor of identification is involved, since this factor is associated with male viewers. However, there were no significant differences among the remaining nine scale variables.

The most significant variable was the "not me-like me" scale for cross-sex differences for both Canadian and American subjects. As in the rating of Spenser in Spenser: For Hire, Crockett was rated lower by all females. This variable also showed significant differences between males and females in three other scenes in this study, and so it can be inferred that "not me-like me" is, in this study, a semantic variable measuring identification with models on the basis of same sex.

Thought Listings Relating to Scale Variables

Nine categories targeting Crockett were composed from 370 thoughts. The category of intelligence was eliminated from further consideration because of minimal response. Those categories considered directly relevant to variables presented in the semantic differential scale are as follows:

CHART 2 . . . . . Miami Vice




## TABLE 2

word pair variables

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian Males | -2.420 | .617 | 1.543 | 1.741 | -.741 | -.778 | -1.358 | -.037 | 1.309 | -.247 | .173 | .852 | Mean |
| | .820 | 1.827 | 1.666 | 1.376 | 1.883 | 1.775 | 1.297 | 1.926 | 1.693 | 1.820 | 1.738 | 1.582 | s.d. |
| American Males | -2.333 | .346 | 1.603 | 1.821 | -1.038 | -.846 | -1.346 | -.167 | 1.808 | -.397 | -.256 | .974 | Mean |
| | .976 | 1.735 | 1.565 | 1.336 | 1.876 | 1.706 | 1.553 | 1.812 | 1.259 | 1.731 | 1.566 | 1.279 | s.d. |
| Canadian Females | -2.534 | -.034 | 1.568 | 1.477 | -2.182 | -.716 | -1.068 | -.125 | 1.693 | -.205 | -.648 | .909 | Mean |
| | .757 | 1.921 | 1.596 | 1.654 | 1.228 | 1.8 | 1.522 | 1.793 | 1.401 | 1.852 | 1.554 | 1.435 | s.d. |
| American Females | -2.311 | .322 | 1.4 | 1.311 | -1.956 | -.356 | -1.144 | -.289 | 1.844 | -.067 | -.322 | 1.067 | Means |
| | .979 | 1.816 | 1.695 | 1.548 | 1.365 | 1.651 | 1.204 | 1.623 | 1.235 | 1.688 | 1.52 | 1.322 | s.d. |
| **T-SCORES** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Differences between | .604 | -.96 | .232 | .371 | -.999 | -.248 | .052 | -.437 | 2.114 | -.534 | -1.637 | .538 | df=157 |
| Males | | | | | | | | | .05 | | | | Sig. |
| Differences between | 1.702 | 1.271 | -.682 | -.692 | 1.163 | 1.391 | -.370 | -.639 | .763 | .519 | 1.412 | .761 | df=176 |
| Females | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sig. |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Differences between | .943 | 2.254 | -.099 | 1.12 | 5.939 | -.225 | -1.327 | .307 | -1.614 | -.15 | 3.24 | -.247 | df=167 |
| Sexes-Canadian | | .05 | | | .001 | | | | | | .01 | | Sig. |
| -American | -.147 | .087 | .8 | 2.265 | 3.655 | -1.891 | -.947 | .461 | -.191 | -1.252 | .276 | -.458 | df=166 |
| | | | | .05 | .001 | | | | | | | | Sig. |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Differences between | 1.635 | .276 | -.350 | -.342 | -.208 | .857 | -.203 | -.769 | 2.078 | .024 | -.212 | .929 | df=335 |
| Nationalities | | | | | | | | | .05 | | | | Sig. |

| Subject Groups | fairness (+ -) | heroism (+ -) | use of violence (+ -) | empathy (+ -) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian Males | 4 1 | 3 7 | 20 11 | 8 0 |
| American Males | 1 8 | 1 8 | 15 11 | 2 0 |
| Canadian Females | 2 4 | 5 11 | 7 23 | 2 1 |
| American Females | 0 1 | 5 8 | 20 28 | 1 0 |
| Totals | 21 | 48 | 135 | 14 |

Use of Violence The largest number of thought listings focused on Crockett's use of violence (as was the case with Spenser). Both the Canadian and American subject groups were similar in the number and ratio of positive to negative thoughts, with the exception that Canadian females recorded half as many positive thoughts as the other groups recorded.

The majority of the positive thoughts either expressed amusement at Crockett's violence towards an informant he was accosting at a bar, or expressed the opinion that it is "too bad real police officers couldn't use those tactics" in order to clean up society. There was no discernable difference in the distribution of these two attitudes between Canadian and American subjects. Negative thoughts were also similar in character between Canadians and Americans, with almost all listings objecting to the excessiveness of Crockett's actions.

Heroism The heroism target accumulated over twice as many negative thoughts than positive for all four groups. The positive thoughts focused on Crockett's "toughness" and control of the situation. The negative thoughts found these same attributes to be either too uncharacteristic of the established character of Crockett or excessively hard-headed and arrogant.

Fairness Crockett's fairness in dealing with his informant was addressed by a total of 21 subjects. An interesting outcome of these listings was that American males have disapproved of Crockett's treatment 8 listings to 1, while Canadian males approved of Crockett's fairness 4 listings to 1. The small number of responses in this category makes inferences tenuous, but it is still worth noting how this difference is in harmony with a prime cross-national attitudinal difference described by scholars in the field of Canadian-American cultural relations: the American ideal of individual rights in contrast to the Canadian virtue of adherence to authority.[56]

Empathy The thought listings for empathy with Crockett were also surprising in their distribution. Canadian males again responded positively more often than did American male and female subjects. Since empathy is closely aligned in meaning with identification, the Canadian male responses appear to show the highest level of identification with Crockett's character of all subjects:

I could imagine myself being a cop after that scene.
I pictured myself as Sonny.
I pictured myself being in Crockett's position, on the set. I saw myself acting out the part.
Wonder what I'd be like to do that in a bar.

Recognizing that "picturing myself" is not the sole, independent cognitive element required in identifying with a model, the category of empathy must be considered in relation to all others in which responses have been made, such as that of realism. A successful act of fantasizing, of projecting oneself into the situation of a fictional character, may not provide the level of identification hypothesized to be necessary for behavior learning, acquisition, and emission.

### Thought Listings Expanding on the Scale Variables

As in Spenser: For Hire, many character-targeted thought listings were recorded by subjects which do not relate directly to the variables of the semantic scale, but which provide an additional perspective from which scale data can be regarded:

| Subject Groups | attraction (+ -) | dress/appearance (+ -) | entertainment (+ -) | realism (+ -) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian Males | 0 0 | 5 1 | 7 0 | 1 13 |
| American Males | 3 2 | 0 2 | 8 0 | 3 16 |
| Canadian Females | 15 5 | 2 3 | 8 0 | 1 9 |
| American Females | 16 2 | 4 2 | 6 1 | 0 9 |
| Totals | 43 | 19 | 30 | 52 |

As might be anticipated from the results of the semantic differential scale, there is considerable similarity in the responses of all subjects. Both the frequencies of responses and the positive to negative ratios of the responses are very much alike for all four subject groups.

Realism The character of Crockett suffered considerably from a lack of plausibility. The five positive thought listings were fairly weak in their support of the normality of the character's appearance and behavior, while the 47 negative listings were, for the most part, adamant about the lack of realism of Crockett's behavior.

In contrast to Spenser: For Hire, Canadians did not list a greater number of negative thoughts focusing on realism than did Americans; Americans had also recorded a large number of negative thoughts. The Canadian responses to both Crockett and Spenser were similar, while the American response to Crockett was more negative than the American response to Spenser. As will be seen in the remaining scene analyses, the level of Canadian negative responses to all the protagonists is consistent. The American negative responses are notably fewer for all the protagonists with the exception of Crockett. It would appear that Miami Vice and the character of Sonny Crockett are regarded as being unrealistic by American subjects.

Attractiveness, Dress/Appearance, and Entertainment The consistency of responses among all subjects for the thought listing targets of attractiveness, dress and appearance, and entertainment does not indicate that Canadian and American subjects differ in any substantial way in their attitudes and evaluations of Crockett in these areas. Female subjects of both nations were equally lavish in their praise of Sonny Crockett's attractiveness.

Responses to LaFiama and Lundy of Houston Knights

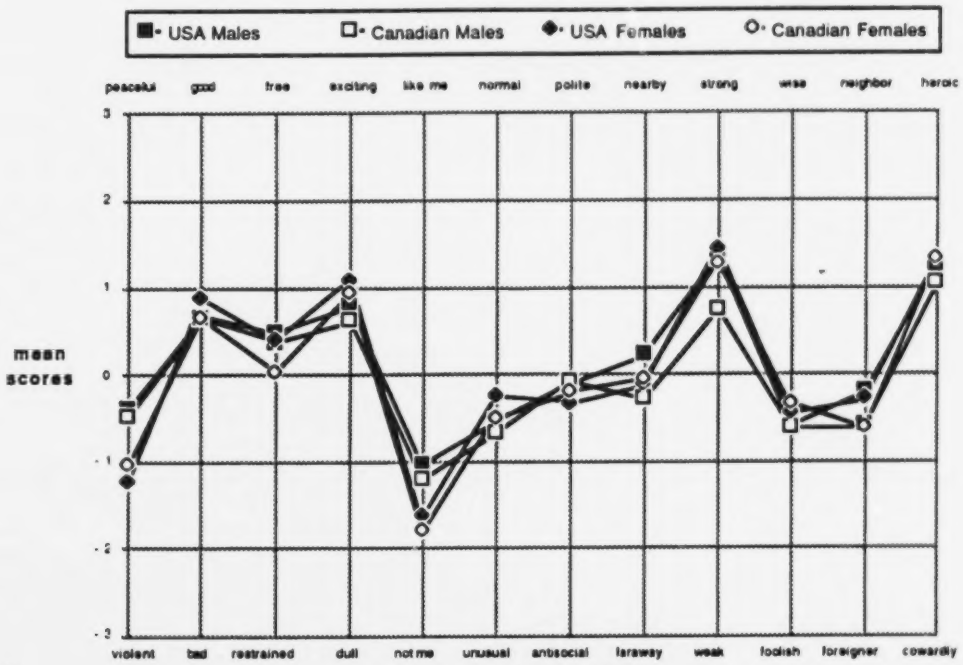
The two protagonists of Houston Knights, LaFiama and Lundy, are quintessential American action heroes. Even though less than 25% of all subjects had previously viewed an episode of this series, thought listings revealed that most were cognizant of the derivative nature of these stereotypical protagonists. (Starsky and Hutch was named by six subjects as the "original", with Dirty Harry and Charles Bronson identified by other subjects as the models for Houston Knights' protagonists.) LaFiama and Lundy are employed in this study as the most obvious "American hero" stereotypes.

Responses to the Semantic Differential Scale

As in Spenser: For Hire and Miami Vice, the results of the semantic differential scale analysis do not appear to support the conclusion that Canadian males differ with American males in their approval of or identification with LaFiama and Lundy. Only one word variable, "strong-weak", showed a significant difference between males, with the Canadian males rating the protagonists lower. This scale accounts for both a cross-sex difference among Canadians and a cross-national difference between all Canadians and all Americans, and would be expected if the less favorable Canadian male responses were a result of a negative identification with the protagonists. However, none of the other 11 scale variables exhibit this pattern of responses among groups.

The "not me-like me" word variable again showed a cross-sex difference for both Americans and Canadians, with females continuing to rate the protagonists lower. Additionally, females of both nationalities rated LaFiama and Lundy as being more violent on the "peaceful-violent" variable. This cross-sex

CHART 3 ..... Houston Knights




## TABLE 3

word pair variables

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian Males | -.469 | .642 | .37 | .617 | -1.198 | -.679 | -.086 | -.284 | .728 | -.617 | -.593 | 1.037 | Mean |
| | 1.74 | 1.913 | 1.728 | 2.004 | 1.669 | 1.802 | 1.543 | 1.748 | 1.597 | 1.921 | 1.539 | 1.436 | s.d. |
| American Males | -.385 | .679 | .474 | .782 | -1.026 | -.526 | -.103 | .218 | 1.333 | -.577 | -.192 | 1.244 | Mean |
| | 1.589 | 2.035 | 1.625 | 1.911 | 1.659 | 1.641 | 1.6 | 1.633 | 1.474 | 1.762 | 1.612 | 1.36 | s.d. |
| Canadian Females | -1.045 | .648 | .045 | .932 | -1.784 | -.489 | -.205 | -.057 | 1.273 | -.33 | -.625 | 1.318 | Mean |
| | 1.688 | 1.857 | 1.825 | 1.812 | 1.489 | 1.715 | 1.57 | 1.92 | 1.396 | 1.969 | 1.853 | 1.228 | s.d. |
| American Females | -1.244 | .889 | .389 | 1.078 | -1.622 | -.256 | -.322 | -.111 | 1.444 | -.456 | -.289 | 1.322 | Mean |
| | 1.574 | 1.905 | 1.888 | 1.837 | 1.511 | 1.726 | 1.564 | 1.783 | 1.439 | 1.973 | 1.637 | 1.452 | s.d. |
| **T-SCORES** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Differences between Males | .32 | .12 | .391 | .531 | .651 | .561 | -.065 | 1.872 | 2.483 | .138 | 1.6 | .932 | df=157 |
| | | | | | | | | | .02 | | | | Sig. |
| Differences between Females | -.813 | .855 | 1.234 | .534 | .72 | .904 | -.501 | -.195 | .808 | -.426 | 1.282 | .020 | df=176 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sig. |
| Differences between Sexes-Canadian | 2.185 | -.020 | 1.186 | -1.072 | 2.414 | -.704 | .493 | -.802 | -2.364 | -.96 | .123 | -1.372 | df=167 |
| | .05 | | | | .02 | | | | .02 | | | | Sig. |
| -American | 3.515 | -.688 | .312 | -1.021 | 2.439 | -1.035 | .898 | 1.24 | -.494 | -.418 | .384 | -.36 | df=166 |
| | .001 | | | | .02 | | | | | | | | Sig. |
| Differences between Nationalities | -.414 | .701 | 1.177 | .774 | .903 | 1.061 | -.424 | 1.070 | 2.357 | -.214 | 2.016 | .685 | df=335 |
| | | | | | | | | | .02 | | .05 | | Sig. |

difference was more significant among Canadians. This cross-sex difference could be interpreted as resulting from differences in identification with the protagonists, but it would still confirm the lack of difference in identification due to subjects' nationality. A cross-national difference appeared on the "neighbor-foreigner" word variable, with Canadians rating LaFiama and Lundy as more foreign. This variable showed a cross-sex difference among Canadians in Miami Vice, so it appears that this semantic concept is being used by Canadians to rate American models as more foreign.

The results of the semantic differential scale indicate that the protagonists of Houston Knights were rated similarly by all of the subjects on eight of the twelve scale variables. Only one variable, "strong-weak", exhibited response patterns that would be consistent with a lower level of identification with the protagonists on the part of the Canadian males.

Thought Listings Relating to Scale Variables

The two protagonists of Houston Knights, LaFiama and Lundy, were both active participants in the confrontation portrayed in the study scene, and the targets of realism and attractiveness have listings for both combined as well as listings for each. Thought listings which targeted the pair together have been credited to both protagonists. The thought listings targeting LaFiama are as follows:

| Subject Groups | attraction (+ -) | intelligence (+ -) | heroism (+ -) | empathy (+ -) | realism (+ -) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian Males | 0 0 | 2 8 | 5 6 | 0 0 | 1 15 |
| American Males | 2 0 | 2 7 | 8 2 | 8 1 | 1 4 |
| Canadian Females | 15 0 | 2 20 | 9 6 | 1 0 | 1 11 |
| American Females | 16 0 | 3 7 | 10 6 | 2 1 | 1 6 |
| Totals | 35 | 51 | 52 | 13 | 40 |

The thought listings for Lundy are as follows:

| Subject Groups | attractiveness (+ -) | dress/appearance (+ -) | realism (+ -) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian Males | 0 1 | 2 5 | 1 8 |
| American Males | 2 0 | 0 1 | 1 4 |
| Canadian Females | 12 1 | 2 9 | 1 6 |
| American Females | 11 0 | 0 5 | 1 5 |
| Totals | 35 | 24 | 27 |

Heroism With the potentially very violent situation portrayed in the study scene being resolved with a single, well-aimed blow with a pool cue, there was only a minimal amount of response in the use of violence target. This is despite the cross-sex differences measured for both Americans and Canadians for the "peaceful-violent" word variable. It would appear that LaFiama's use of violence, while scored differently by males and females, did not provoke much regard. The intelligence and heroism of LaFiama (and of Lundy by association) were the targets most actively responded to.

In addressing LaFiama's heroism, females of both nationalities were similar in their balance of positive to negative listings, being slightly more favorable overall. The Canadian male thought listings were closely balanced, while the American male listings were favorable at a 4:1 ratio. This suggests that Canadian male subjects found LaFiama less acceptable as a hero than did the American male subjects, despite the lack of significant difference in the semantic scale mean scores for the "heroic-cowardly" word variable.

In comparing the negative listings for heroism, a difference between the American and Canadian male responses can be construed. The two American male responses find the heroism on display to be stereotypical and unbelievable. Most of the Canadian male

responses, on the other hand, fault LaFiama for timidity or weakness. With the sole significant difference in the semantic scale for males being the "strong-weak" word variable, it would appear that these negative listings are the cognitions that underlie the cross-national male difference found in the quantitative analysis:

I can't believe that these cops would be that heroic. Clean-cut stereotypical heroes. (US males)

Police officers seemed too timid. Not tough enough to handle the person they were dealing with.
He's not as tough as he thinks, but he lets his gun do the talking.
"Next time you're mine" (ha ha ha). "Let's do it" (yeah, cool man). (Canadian males)

Intelligence LaFiama's intelligence was commented on similarly by all subjects with one exception: Canadian females listed nearly three times the number of negative thoughts. There are no notable differences in the nature of the positive thoughts listed by the four subject groups.

There also does not appear to be any indication of reasoning differences in the negative responses. Aside from the greater frequency of response by the Canadian females, there is an overall lack of attribution or detail in these responses, and no explanatory material can be drawn from this target. Considering the absence of any significant differences in the semantic scale variable of "wise-foolish", it must be concluded that no cross-national differences exist in the ratings of LaFiama's intelligence.

Realism Both the American and Canadian subjects found the two protagonists lacking in realism. Only 8 positive thought listings were made, compared to 59 negative. Americans listed 10 negative thoughts for LaFiama and 11 for Lundy, a comparable number of responses. Canadians, however, listed 26 negative thoughts for LaFiama and 14 for Lundy. The larger number of negative listings, especially for LaFiama, is consistent with the patterns of response in Spenser: For Hire and Miami Vice. American subjects identified a basis for the protagonists' lack of credibility: the stereotype. Canadians commented only that they were unrealistic.

Attractiveness This target, as was the case in the two preceding scenes, was responded to almost entirely by females of both nationalities with equivalent frequencies and with positive comments. The nature of the comments were also consistent with those of the preceding scenes, employing terms such as "cute" and "good-looking".

Dress/appearance Lundy's western hat and sunglasses made him the focus of the comments in the category of dress and appearance, the clear majority of which were negative. Most of these comments were made by Canadian subjects, and specifically mentioned the hat; it was not a well-regarded cultural artifact. While a number of American subjects also felt the "cowboy" look was undesirable, for them the cowboy ensemble represents a faction of their own culture, one with which they were loath to be identified with. For Canadians, on the other hand, the western appearance was associated with being American (a generalization that is unfair, as are most stereotypes of foreigners, and a generalization that certainly would be contended by the Americans who responded in this category). This difference in association might explain why there was a cross-national difference in the semantic scale for the "neighbor-foreigner" word variable.

Empathy With 8 thought listings by American male subjects, none by Canadian males subjects, and only 2 by American female subjects and 1 by a Canadian female subject, the responses to the category of empathy display a distribution that would be expected if American males were identifying more with the protagonists of Houston Knights than were the Canadian males.

## Responses to the Pinkerton Detectives of The Long Riders

With the inception of the American stereotypic action hero in the mythology of the Wild West, it would have been remiss of this study not to provide an example of this type of media model. The lawmen presented in The Long Riders scene, two unnamed Pinkerton Agency detectives, were the most unsympathetic protagonists viewed by the subjects, and consequently were the lowest rated. The choice of The Long Riders as a scene source was made so as to allow a close match of situational conflict, stylistic treatment, and form of protagonist with that of a Canadian

film, The Grey Fox. This was done so as to concentrate on the differences displayed by the protagonists.

Responses to the Semantic Differential Scale

As discussed in the previous four scene analyses, an identification with protagonists by male subjects on the basis on national identity should be supported not only by cross-national differences in male responses, but also by cross-sex differences within the national group. In The Long Riders, only two scale variables, "exciting-dull" and "strong-weak" showed significant differences between males, with Canadian males rating the Pinkerton detectives lower. The cross-sex differences for the Americans, however, do not fall on these same two variables.

Eight variables showed significant differences between Canadian males and females, and four showed significant differences between Canadian and American females. With the Canadian females rating the Pinkerton detectives lower on all of these scale variables, it is clear that Canadian females are distinct from the other three subject groups in their harsh assessment of the protagonists. Determining the factors which may account for this difference, whether it is an aversion to national traits or to western films, requires consideration of the underlying cognitions revealed in the thought listings.

Thought Listings Relating to Scale Variables

Only four categories collected a useful number of thought listings. While this may reflect diminishing levels of subject interest and enthusiasm in the response task as the study was proceeding, it is perhaps a result of the naturalistic approach employed in this scene (and the scene from The Grey Fox) in character portrayal and direction. These protagonists were not of the type to inspire comment on sex appeal or fashion glamor.

| Subject Groups | use of violence (+ -) | fairness (+ -) | intelligence (+ -) | heroism (+ -) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian Males | 1 12 | 2 3 | 0 9 | 0 6 |
| American Males | 2 19 | 1 10 | 0 10 | 0 4 |
| Canadian Females | 0 22 | 0 11 | 0 5 | 1 13 |
| American Females | 1 33 | 1 19 | 0 7 | 0 2 |
| Totals | 90 | 47 | 31 | 26 |

Use of Violence This category had the largest number of responses by far, due to the abrupt violence precipitated by the Pinkerton detectives. With only 4 modestly positive thoughts and 86 very negative thoughts listed, the bias against the protagonists is clear. The majority of negative thoughts condemned the violence out of sympathy for an innocent bystander. The largest number of negative thoughts were listed by American females, and the fewest listed by Canadian males.

Fairness The Pinkertons were also condemned on the basis of fairness. Only 4 positive thoughts were listed, as compared to 43 negative, with the Americans having twice as many of the negative listings compared to the Canadians. It would appear that the Americans were more critical of the Pinkertons' lack of fair play in opening fire first.

Intelligence Since the actions of the Pinkerton detectives lead quickly to their deaths, it would have been surprising if any subjects had made favorable comments about the wisdom of their actions. There were none. Thirty-one subjects responded negatively in this category.

Heroism Only one subject, a Canadian female, made a favorable comment concerning the bravery of the Pinkerton detectives. The negative comments expressed either uncertainty over who the "good guys" were supposed to be or certainty that the Pinkertons were cowardly and immoral. Due to the strong negative bias and similarity of comments by all subject groups, the differences between subjects is more discernable in the semantic scale scores. No interpretive value can be obtained from the thought listings for understanding the cognitions that may have

CHART 4 ..... The Long Riders

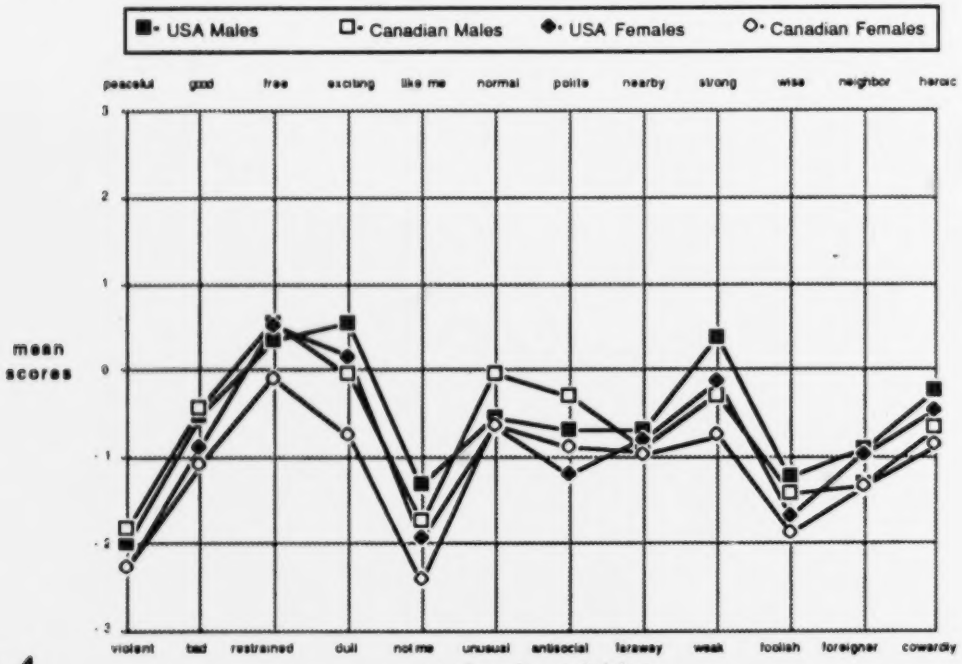



TABLE 4

word pair variables

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian Males | -1.827 | -.444 | .543 | -.062 | -1.741 | -.049 | -.309 | -.901 | -.296 | -1.42 | -1.309 | -.667 | Mean |
| | 1.302 | 1.681 | 1.817 | 1.846 | 1.349 | 1.83 | 1.772 | 1.393 | 1.504 | 1.482 | 1.402 | 1.525 | s.d. |
| American Males | -1.987 | -.538 | .333 | .551 | -1.321 | -.551 | -.692 | -.705 | .359 | -1.244 | -.923 | -.244 | Mean |
| | 1.038 | 1.965 | 1.835 | 1.807 | 1.55 | 1.741 | 1.797 | 1.637 | 1.595 | 1.539 | 1.375 | 1.513 | s.d. |
| Canadian Females | -2.261 | -1.091 | -.102 | -.75 | -2.409 | -.636 | -.909 | -.977 | -.761 | -1.875 | -1.341 | -.875 | Mean |
| | 1.16 | 1.699 | 1.788 | 1.783 | 1.057 | 1.846 | 1.713 | 1.539 | 1.59 | 1.329 | 1.568 | 1.56 | s.d. |
| American Females | -2.278 | -.889 | .5 | .144 | -1.944 | -.667 | -1.211 | -.811 | -.144 | -1.689 | -.978 | -.467 | Mean |
| | .983 | 1.875 | 1.644 | 1.958 | 1.433 | 1.818 | 1.632 | 1.491 | 1.713 | 1.26 | 1.6 | 1.677 | s.d. |
| **T-SCORES** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Differences between | -.859 | -.324 | -.724 | 2.116 | 1.821 | -1.773 | -1.355 | .812 | 2.663 | .735 | 1.751 | 1.756 | df=157 |
| Males | | | | .05 | | | | | .01 | | | | Sig. |
| Differences between | -.102 | .753 | 2.338 | 3.188 | 2.465 | -.11 | -1.204 | .732 | 2.491 | .958 | 1.529 | 1.682 | df=176 |
| Females | | | .05 | .01 | .02 | | | | .02 | | | | Sig. |
| Differences between | 2.293 | 2.483 | 2.327 | 2.465 | 3.6 | 2.074 | 2.239 | .336 | 1.949 | 2.105 | .141 | .877 | df=167 |
| Sexes-Canadian | .05 | .02 | .05 | .02 | .001 | .05 | .05 | | | .05 | | | Sig. |
| -American | 1.861 | 1.181 | -.621 | 1.392 | 2.71 | .418 | 1.961 | .439 | 1.961 | 2.061 | .236 | .899 | df=166 |
| | | | | | .01 | | | | | .05 | | | Sig. |
| Differences between | -.724 | .277 | 1.112 | 3.703 | 2.868 | -1.303 | -1.837 | 1.086 | 3.559 | 1.134 | 2.297 | 2.405 | df=335 |
| Nationalities | | | | .001 | .01 | | | | .001 | | .05 | .02 | Sig. |

motivated the scale responses. The protagonists were not ambiguous enough to promote differing judgements; the Pinkerton detectives were clearly and decidedly judged violent, unfair, foolish, and unheroic.

The semantic scale, on the other hand, shows a large number of significant differences between Canadian females and the other three subject groups. Two categories that were not analyzed may account for this particular group's low scores: general interest in the production, and thoughts about plot and theme. In both categories, Canadian females listed over twice the number of negative comments than the other three groups, essentially along the lines of "this is boring" and "I hate Westerns". From these responses, it can be seen that a particular dislike of western films was prevalent among the Canadian female subjects, and this attitude most probably influenced their scoring of the protagonists in The Long Riders. One of the most significant departures from the means of the other three groups was for the "exciting-dull" word variable.

For the cross-national male differences, which are of primary interest to the focus of this study, the "strong-weak" word variable was again significant, as it was in the second and third scenes. The "exciting-dull" variable was also significant, but this may reflect a lack of interest in the western genre that was apparent among Canadian female subjects, instead of a difference in male identification with a model due to nationality. There appears to be a media genre irrelevancy to be considered in addition to a national identity difference.

## Responses to the Mounted Police of The Grey Fox

The Grey Fox provided the only Canadian treatment of violence used in this study. Although there are number of other films and television programs of Canadian origin which have violent themes, the Canadian origin of some of these products is often obscured in the hope that they will be more marketable in foreign syndication if they can masquerade as an American production. (I would cite War of the Worlds as an example of this telling phenomenon.)

### Responses to the Semantic Differential Scale

The responses to the semantic differential scale for this scene support the hypothesis that male viewers approve of and identify with media models on the basis of national identity. Canadian male responses were significantly different from American male responses on seven scale variables and significantly different from Canadian female responses on eleven scale variables, with the Canadian males rating the Mounted Police higher on all variables.

Canadian and American female responses were similar on all variables, and American male responses were similar to these except for the "exciting-dull", "like me-not me", and "nearby- faraway" variable. Correlated t-Tests between The Long Riders and The Grey Fox showed "free-restrained" and "nearby-faraway" to have little semantic utility for subjects in differentiating between the two scenes' protagonists. Also, "nearby-faraway" has not been significant in describing differences between subjects on the other four scenes. Therefore, the responses of the American males should be considered to be essentially similar to those of the American and Canadian females.

### Thought Listings Relating to the Scale Variables

The Mounted Police were responded to in four categories which had a sufficient number of listings from which to make generalized conclusions about subject group cognitions. Three of these categories were also addressed by subjects in response to the Pinkerton detectives: Use of violence, fairness, and intelligence. The actions of the Mounted Police were cautious and restrained, and so there were few listings targeting their heroism. Realism was the fourth category that emerged for the Mounted Police, and it's distributions was quite surprising:

CHART 5 . . . . . The Grey Fox

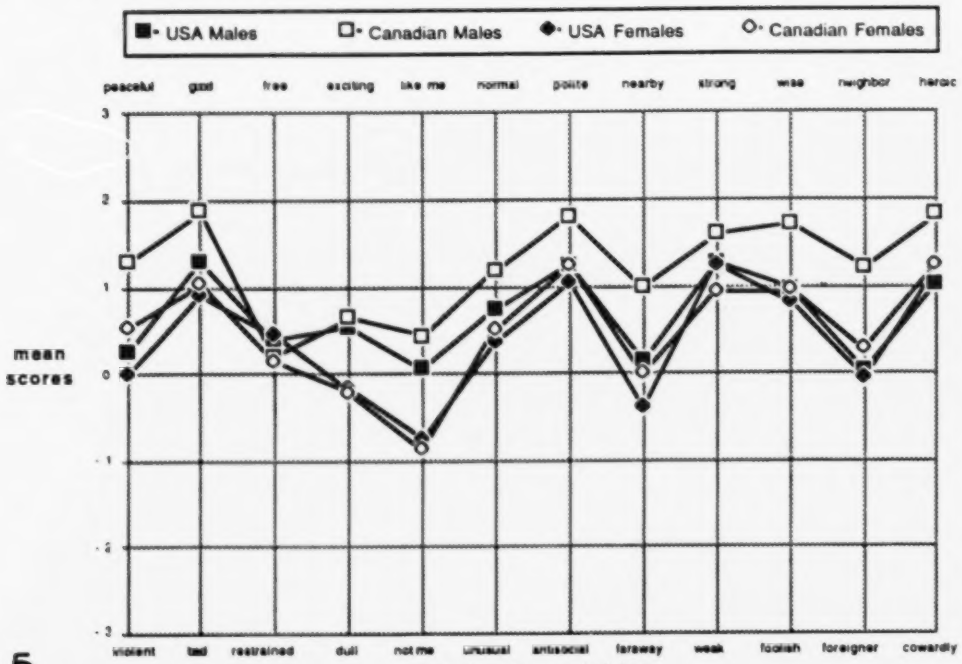



TABLE 5

word pair variables

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian Males | 1.296 | 1.877 | .198 | .642 | .42 | 1.185 | 1.815 | .988 | 1.593 | 1.728 | 1.222 | 1.827 | Mean |
| | 1.512 | 1.229 | 1.799 | 1.638 | 1.657 | 1.333 | 1.352 | 1.654 | 1.17 | 1.342 | 1.688 | 1.116 | s.d. |
| American Males | .244 | 1.308 | .385 | .551 | .051 | .731 | 1.244 | .154 | 1.256 | .949 | .038 | 1.026 | Mean |
| | 1.796 | 1.614 | 1.723 | 1.509 | 1.595 | 1.609 | 1.539 | 1.721 | 1.549 | 1.808 | 1.647 | 1.667 | s.d. |
| Canadian Females | .534 | 1.034 | .148 | -.216 | -.864 | .523 | 1.239 | 0 | .943 | .966 | .273 | 1.239 | Mean |
| | 1.781 | 1.771 | 1.759 | 1.615 | 1.782 | 1.661 | 1.583 | 1.768 | 1.663 | 1.841 | 1.747 | 1.64 | s.d. |
| American Females | 0 | .911 | .456 | -.178 | -.756 | .367 | 1.033 | -.4 | 1.244 | .811 | -.044 | 1.211 | Mean |
| | 2.022 | 1.809 | 1.8 | 1.598 | 1.705 | 1.568 | 1.725 | 1.654 | 1.301 | 1.848 | 1.669 | 1.666 | s.d. |
| **T-SCORES** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Differences between | -3.991 | -2.494 | .67 | -.363 | -1.429 | -1.935 | -2.483 | -3.112 | -1.539 | -3.078 | -4.475 | -3.55 | df=157 |
| Males | .001 | .02 | | | | | .02 | .01 | | .01 | .001 | .001 | Sig. |
| Differences between | -1.871 | -.458 | 1.154 | .158 | .413 | -.644 | -.828 | -1.558 | 1.344 | -.56 | -1.238 | -.111 | df=176 |
| Females | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sig. |
| Differences between | 2.987 | 3.564 | .182 | 3.427 | 4.836 | 2.844 | 2.534 | 3.741 | 2.912 | 3.054 | 3.587 | 2.704 | df=167 |
| Sexes-Canadian | .01 | .001 | | .001 | .001 | .01 | .02 | .001 | .01 | .01 | .001 | .01 | Sig. |
| -American | .82 | 1.489 | -.26 | 3.027 | 3.152 | 1.483 | .828 | 2.124 | .054 | .486 | .323 | -.719 | df=166 |
| | | | | .01 | .01 | | | .05 | | | | | Sig. |
| Differences between | -3.985 | -1.895 | 1.305 | -.194 | -.688 | -1.782 | -2.241 | -3.247 | -.028 | -2.4 | -3.922 | -2.334 | df=335 |
| Nationalities | .001 | | | | | | .05 | .01 | | .02 | .001 | .05 | Sig. |

| Subject Groups | use of violence (+ -) | fairness (+ -) | intelligence (+ -) | realism (+ -) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian Males | 8 0 | 11 1 | 14 2 | 3 8 |
| American Males | 5 0 | 13 0 | 9 2 | 2 3 |
| Canadian Females | 10 0 | 13 2 | 10 0 | 3 5 |
| American Females | 9 1 | 20 6 | 6 0 | 1 2 |
| Totals | 33 | 66 | 43 | 29 |

Fairness The category of fairness had 66 thought listings, 57 of which were positive and 9 of which were negative. The distribution of positive thoughts among the four subject groups was essentially similar, with the American females recording about a third more than the other subjects. The thoughts were very similar in nature for all subjects. The 9 negative thoughts directed against the fairness of the Mounted Police were apparently provoked by the decision of the police officer who was questioning the suspects to place them under arrest on suspicion rather than the discovery of any physical evidence.

Intelligence The question-and-answer exchange between the police officer and the gang leader impressed the subjects who responded in this category. Canadian subjects listed more positive thoughts than did the Americans. The four negative thoughts were contributed equally by Canadian and American males, and did not focus on the intelligence of the police officer's interrogation but on the perceived foolishness of his risk-taking actions or appearance.

Use of Violence Thirty-three thought listings were made on the restrained use of violence by the Mounted Police, with all but one being positive, and the positive responses being contributed almost equally by American and Canadian subjects. There is no clear distinction between the American and Canadian positive thought listings regarding reasoning or expectations. A tenuous one can be inferred from the assumptions made regarding the freedom of choice available to the Mounted Police: Americans assumed that the officers' actions were at their discretion, while Canadians tended to attribute their behavior to police procedure, suggesting that Canadians view their restrained use of violence to be due less to the mercy of the officers and more to a conformity to regulations.

Realism The thought category of realism, in which Canadians have judged the protagonists of the American media samples as less realistic, shows an unanticipated distribution of responses to the Mounted Police. While the realism of the production of The Grey Fox was more positively commented on by Canadians than by Americans, as expected, the realism of the Mounted Police drew three times the number of negative listings from the Canadian subjects than from the American subjects. The expected response for this category would have the fewest negative thought listings made by Canadian subjects. While Canadians did make 6 positive comments as compared with only 3 by the Americans, the surprising number of 13 negative Canadian listings deserves closer attention.

While most of the positive thought listings did not elaborate beyond the simple statement that the Mounted Police were more realistic, one subject did list a basis for positive comment: "Historically correct N.W.M.P. [Northwest Mounted Police] not R.C.M.P. [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]". In examining the negative Canadian thought listings, it becomes obvious that a perceived lack of authenticity of the police uniforms underlies the majority of negative responses:

Police missing French or English accent. (U.S. Male)

Righteous but unreal. The way the west wasn't won. Predictable.
Stereotypical Mounties.
The Mounted Police officer is wearing black instead of red. (Canadian males)

Shouldn't they be wearing red coats?
Noticed that the actors were not wearing the scarlet uniform of the real NWMP.(Canadian females)

Although it could be expected that an American might fault the realism of the Mounted Police because they did not speak with a foreign accent, it is a revelation that many of the Canadian subjects faulted the realism of the police officers because of their

uniforms. This is a revelation most telling, because the authenticity of the uniforms actually exceeded expectations; red dress uniforms were not worn on frontier patrol. One Canadian subject was able to provide (in a negative listing) an expert critique of the costuming; the cited subject was an RCMP officer:

> Wrong uniforms. NWMP didn't use Stetson until they became RCMP. Also had RCMP insignia on uniform instead of NWMP. Wrong handguns.

While the average Canadian adolescent should not be expected to recognize the detailed inaccuracies of insignia and make of handgun, it is noteworthy that so many would be so unfamiliar with one of Canada's most celebrated icons as to challenge the color of uniform worn by the protagonists in the The Grey Fox, a minor enough concession to historical accuracy!

Canadian scholars in mass media and related fields might not be too surprised at this lack of familiarity with things Canadian on the part of mass media-consuming young Canadians. The eclipsing of Canadian culture by American culture by border hopping broadcast media and film distribution is a displacement of self-knowledge and awareness that is wearily noted by many Canadians, and the responses in this category would be yet another grimly acknowledged outcome of this displacement. As one Canadian female subject wrote of this scene:

> But no more familiar than your US TV shows. In fact, I'm afraid to most people (Canadians), less familiar.

## Attitudes Towards Law Enforcement

Although a factor analysis of the semantic scale results for the five scenes did not yield constant factors which could have been used throughout this study for analysis, a number of variables in The Long Riders and The Grey Fox did load into a factor, and this provides a point for further discussion.

Variables one, two, seven, ten, and twelve had loaded into a factor subsuming peaceful, good, polite, wise, and heroic, and the polar opposites of violent, bad, antisocial, foolish, and cowardly. The protagonists in both scenes were lawmen conducting an apprehension of suspects who, in both cases, were presented in a sympathetic light. Therefore, this factor can be considered an evaluation of appropriate police behavior, as judged by subjects who are at least partially sympathetic to the point of view of the suspects.

This factor, relating to police conduct, may be of less personal relevance than that of "the freedom of the individual to fight for what is thought right", or the need to use violence to counter threats of violence. If this is the case, then the high level of approval of the Mounted Police by Canadian male subjects may not reflect identification with the police, but rather an endorsement of a particular regulatory approach than will occasionally be applied to the subjects' real lives. However, the other three subject groups did not rate the Mounted Police as highly as did the Canadian males, and there is no reason to assume that Canadian females and Americans would not also favor courteous and fair police protection.

## Summary

The weight of the evidence appears to support the null hypothesis; the overall scale results and the majority of thought listings show all four subject groups to be similar in their evaluation of and probable level of identification with the first three violent media models. Challenging this conclusion, however, are the contraindications found in the responses to the two final scenes. There are a number of interpretations that might account for these inconsistencies. In a field study of this nature, many uncontrollable subject variables will be present, influencing the effects of the experimental variables. In regard to the first three scenes, Spenser: For Hire, Miami Vice, and Houston Knights, there are two factors that may have influenced the scale results other than an equivalent level of identification by males of both nations. Considering the minor differences between sexes, valid assumption would be that there was no significant level of identification in any group; identification was inhibited by the lack of realism of the protagonists. The covariant of model realism is suggested by the thought listings, and model and situation realism has been shown by Tate and Surlin to be a significant factor in the evaluation of American

television programs by Canadian viewers.[57] The absence of this variable from the semantic scale did not permit the quantitative measure to register this important factor. The frequent mention by subjects of the stereotypic and unreal nature of the models shows that the models lacked saliency. This would obstruct identification.

A second possible inhibition to identification would be the overriding influence of the stereotype in the cognitions of the subjects. In recording responses to the semantic scale, subjects may have been reporting model attributes recognition more than evaluation. If this was the case, the semantic scale was more effective in collecting long-established mental representations held by the subjects, rather than the objective responses that were being sought. Expressed in the language of script construct and neo-associative theory, the semantic cues which were displayed by the models and observed by the subjects were compared to various retained script constructs. Responses to the protagonists, then, reflected attitudes towards script constructs. This would account for the many comments that were made which referred to stereotypes, knowing what was going to happen next, the original media models on which the observed models were derived, and the ridiculing of observed models who failed to live up to the script constructs for viable heroes.

The script construct premise would also account for the remarkable consistency in mean score scale responses between the four subject groups. Despite the number of subjects who were not previously acquainted with the models of Spenser: For Hire and Houston Knights, the symmetry of responses throughout the 12 word variables is very high. For Crockett of Miami Vice, with whom subjects were very familiar, there was a surprising accord in responses.

The thought listings for The Long Riders and The Grey Fox showed fewer criticisms of model realism, far less certainty about the nature of the protagonists and their anticipated behavior, and very few comments regarding the predictability of the action. There were, as well, a correspondingly higher number of positive listings for each of these areas. It is in these two scenes that the subject groups showed greater differences between themselves in the semantic scale mean scores. Clearly, the perceived realism and lack of well-established script constructs for the two realistically treated scenes resulted in responses that were more discriminating.

In The Grey Fox, the differences between the Canadian and American male subjects' scale responses are supportive of an attribution to identification. The female responses had no differences, and the American males responses were similar to those of the American females except on just two variables, "exciting-dull" and "nearby-faraway". If the results of the first three scenes are to be considered unreliable because of the lack of model saliency and a susceptibility to responses to script constructs, and if the fourth scene's protagonists are too unsympathetic to be identified with, then the fifth scene stands alone as a valid scene variable. The Canadian males approved of the Mounted Police more strongly on a majority of word variables than did the other three subject groups. The protagonists were judged more realistic by all the subjects, despite the complaints about the uniforms, indicating that any existing Canadian script constructs for Mounted Police officers did not contribute to the positive ratings by Canadians.

## Conclusions

The perceived realism of the characters is an important variable that appeared throughout the American and Canadian thought listings. That this is relevant to the factor of model saliency within the context of social learning theory has been noted. From a different perspective, that of structuralist theory and mass media mythology, Taylor sees multiple levels of myth and media structure accounting for the discrimination between fact and fiction, reality and fantasy.[58] While this is not one of the theoretical foundations from which this study has proceeded, it is a corroboration of the importance of reality and fantasy apprehension. Identification has been found to occur both with models who are similar to viewers and with models that viewers would like to emulate.[59] Viewers may identify with both "like me" and "want to be" model attributes. It would be Taylor's view that an unrealistically portrayed character would, despite its attractiveness, be recognized as a

symbolic figure, and the desired attributes also recognized as too unrealistic to be adopted.[60]

From this perspective, Canadians would certainly recognize both the surface structure (appearance of the actors, action, and filmic technique) and the deeper mythic structures (heroic stereotypes, universal themes, and plot evolution) of the mass media as easily as Americans would, and come quite close to an identical understanding and evaluation of these elements. Canadians, however, might not attribute the same levels of reality or fantasy to these elements as would Americans.

The mediating cognition of realism, therefore, is an important variable that must be considered in analyses of media violence content. Behaviors exhibited by an abstract cartoon character would not be equivalent to the exact same behaviors exhibited by a live model presented in a natural environment. It can be further assumed that a futuristic, half-man half-machine cyborg (eg. Robocop) would be less relevant as a behavioral model than would a contemporary, relatively more realistic figure (eg. Rambo). The more atypical character would possess fewer attributes with which viewers could identify, and its behavior, motivated by fantastic exigencies, would be recognized as inapplicable to the viewers' reality.

To continue the discussion of myth, it has been said that Canada is "a country without a mythology".[61] Taking issue with that statement, Lipset has drawn from numerous literary sources a consistent and valid formulation of the Canadian mythology, a national ethos distinct from that of America.[62] What is most revealing about this sort of critical exercise is that it should even be necessary. The American mythology, unfolded repetitiously through the mass media, is familiar to all Americans from childhood on. This is also the mythology familiar to all Canadians. It is not surprising, then, that Canadians should know the American myth so well, have so complete an American heroic script construct in residence, and respond in such harmony with Americans in an evaluation of American heroes.

## Identifying With the American

Due to the congruency of the responses by all four subject groups, there is some doubt as to whether or not any of the responses can be attributed to identification with the protagonists in the four American scenes. Such a conclusion would require the presence of cross-sex as well as cross-national differences on the same variables. If, for the sake of argument, the lack of cross-sex differences is dismissed, then the significance of comparable identification by American and Canadian males would need to be addressed.

Several studies have shown that children will imitate violent models who are of a different race or sex. Both white female and black male subjects have imitated white male models even though, in many instances, white female and black male violent models were also available.[63] This shows that identification with well-established media models is a powerful viewer response, one which can override subject characteristics which might be expected to mediate imitation and identification. While national identity may have its part in a viewer's identification with a television or film character, it may be a small one compared to other more potent evaluative considerations.

A well-established awareness of the mythic American hero is found in both Canada and the United States. It is often attributed to the displacement of the Canadian media presence and culture by the American. However, where are the Canadian television and film heroes who have been so imperialistically displaced? Canadian versions of these American media models have simply never existed, except for a few rare and isolated exceptions. A parent who is only home on holidays should not be too surprised when the children begin to take after an aunt or uncle who drops by for dinner every day.

The Canadian mass media have failed to provide the media models, both of realistic and of fantasy natures, after which Canadian children and adolescents might pattern themselves. It is true that Canada does not have the mass media industry of the United States. It is also true that Canada does not have the highly developed national mythology from which to construct its fantasy heroes. However, a somewhat comparable situation has not prevented Australia from developing both realistic and fantasy media heroes of its own (eg. Road Warrior). Canada's media industries and cultural agencies must bear some of the

responsibility for the absence of Canada's own heroic models from its airwaves and theaters.

## Identifying with the Canadian

A reservation in attributing the differences found in this scene to national identification has been expressed by Surlin, who, along with Berlin and Baer, has conducted research studies measuring Canadian and American value system differences.[64] With no significant differences to be found in this area of study to date, Surlin suggests that the differences seen in The Grey Fox are attributable to a factor other than identification. This, however, assumes that identification with media models involves the recognition and approval of a model's values, rather than of more superficial aspects. Surlin holds that a model chosen from a Canadian production that is not obviously characterized as being a Canadian would be rated no differently by Canadians and Americans. I would tend to agree with this. However, the social learning hypothesis describes identification with such superficial aspects of media models as appearance, speech mannerisms, and other non-value cues. While value system criteria for identification may require that subjects have a cognitive awareness of values, the social learning and neoassociative theoretical bases have the latitude for viewer identification with visual and aural cues.

An additional point that supports attributing the Canadian male responses to the Mounted Police to the factor of identification has already been noted, which is the existence of significant cross-sex differences in the Canadian subjects for this scene. If another factor has influenced the Canadian responses to this scene (such as "national pride"[65]), the lack of response by Canadian females to this factor would have to be explained.

As Chairman Pierre Juneau of the Canadian Radio-Television Commission stated, Canada "is by far the most interesting mass-communication laboratory in the world."[66] Similarities in media programming and saturation, language, and parallel research interests in mass media hold the above statement, made in the mid-70s, just as valid today. While such similarities may make it difficult to measure differences between Americans and Canadians on many conditions and issues, they can also help control many of the confounding variables that would be encountered in dealing with subjects with different language, culture, world view, and class/race attributes.

The process of identification and its hypothesized connection with aggressive behavior is a most difficult phenomenon to examine, for it will always be entangled with a myriad number of other responses to mass media and the conflict situations encountered in life. I cannot offer much in the way of expedient wisdom regarding a certain and sure way to the truth of this critically significant relationship between a society's mass media and its reality. I can only be sure that the true culpability of our media fantasies in the subversion of human behavior must be understood and made fully known.

## Notes

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51. Data were analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences SPSS/PC+ (Chicago: SPSS) and Pocket APL version 2.1 (Rockville, Maryland: STSC)

52. Data were plotted using Microsoft Chart for Apple Macintosh version 035096.100 (Bellevue, WA: Microsoft)

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